THE

WEEKLY INSPECTOR.

Of those men who have overturned the Liberties of Republics, the greatest number "have begun their career by paying an obsequious court to the People—commencing "DEMAGOGUES, and ending TYRANTS." HAMILTON.

Vol. I.] NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1806. [No. 15.

FOR THE WEEKLY INSPECTOR.

Addressed to the People of the United States.

When folly usurps the chair of state, and imbecility is cloathed with the ornaments of official dignity, the condition of the people is worthy of commiseration. When children and cowards conduct the affairs of government, happy would it be if the tendency of their measures could be only of temporary duration. History affords us ample proof, that a single wicked or indiscreet measure in the administration of government, may decide the fate of a state, and fix its destiny for ages. I fear that we have already brought the disastrous example home to ourselves. A long unbroken succession of measures, disgraceful in their adoption, dangerous and baneful in their tendency and practice, has produced in this nation a juncture of affairs frightful and alarming to an extreme.

The severity of experience is a school, in which individuals learn much, but nations, as such, learn nothing. History points us to the grave, in whose capacious bosom all the republics of antiquity slumber in ruins. It tells us why they have fallen, and warns us of the means which were used to accomplish their destruction. Wisdom exhorts in vain; and warnings, even from the tomb, are fleeter than the winds that pass us. We travel on in the same crazy course in which other republics have travelled, and we shall reach the same grave which they have reached. The evils which now menace us with "political death," had their origin at an early period of our national existence. Hardly

PRESIDENT's MESSAGE—Continued from last page, (136).

port towns and waters, an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of our country, a militia so organized that its effective operations can be called to any point in the union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying on our resources until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests, while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements, in its outset, will go far towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burthens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.

The result of our negociations, or such incidents in their course, as may enable us to infer their probable issue; such further movements also, on our western frontier, as may show whether war is to be pressed there, while negociation is protracted elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me; with whatever other information I possess or may receive, which may aid your deliberations on the great national interests committed to your charge. TH: JEFFERSON.

December 2, 1806.

☞ *The second side of this No. having been wrought off before the receipt of the President's Message, it compelled us to place the matter in the irregular manner in which it appears, & to omit several articles previously prepared.*

had sufficient length of time elapsed for our political institutions to be put into full and complete operation; we had hardly began to feel the blessings of the best of governments, before faction, a plant, indigenous to the soil of republics, was cherished in our country, whose luxuriant vegetation has overshadowed all the softest and brightest flowers; and now, like the poisonous tree of Java, shakes from its limbs pestilence and death. Unsuspecting, as is usual with a great and generous people, you suffered the enemies of your government to excite in you a species of sublimated frenzy, and while its fever was on, it hurried you beyond the limits of reason. Cool and discerning men hoped that the delirium might pass off before the evils which they feared that it would produce, could mature and quicken into action. Their fears, but not their hopes, have been realized. Already have you raised to office a class of men, whose lives are the severest satire on their pretended patriotism and virtue, and whose conduct has disgraced the dignity of their political elevation. Be not astonished when you are told, that base men have been fondled in the lap of popular favour. Absalom was beloved of the people; Wikes was the idol of a mob; and, while Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, were wading in human blood, they received the applause and the acclamations of millions. The elevation of bad men to political importance, is the inevitable consequence of faction. Such men, being conscious of their inability to rise into public notice, where virtue and talents flourish, leave no art unexerted which can delude and agitate the people, till, by the most bold and licentious efforts, they completely inflame their passions, and cloud their understandings. That which at first appears treasonable, soon becomes common, and has its advocates; the trumpet of alarm is instantly sounded to the utmost limits of the empire, and the people are marshaled in fierce hostility against their government. In these times of confusion and dark disaster, demagogues, like corks upon the bosom of the waters, rise into notice, and claim to themselves superiority of character, as they have superiority of elevation.

It is the duty of a people to yield obedience to *laws* enacted by their rulers; and it is equally their duty boldly to manifest their want of confidence in *men* who abuse their favour, and violate their rights. It is one of the misfortunes of a noble and generous spirit, that it is frequently compelled to retrace the course which it has taken, and to deprecate the effects of its own frankness and bounty. No time ought now to be spent in yielding to the feelings which a squeamish delicacy may excite. You are called upon to withdraw your confidence from men of dark, and more than suspected characters; your most essential interests demand that you cease to give ear to their sorceries, or again place them in a condition, where they can, a second time, for a rattle and a straw, barter away the liberties of their country. Already have such men abused your confidence, violated your rights, and driven the nation to the borders of political distraction; and even now, may the genius of America hang her harp upon the willows, and weep over the ruins of a great people.

When a man of unbounded ambition, of dark and dangerous principles, one who has lighted up the flames of rebellion in the centre of his adopted country, and who now owes the preservation of his life to

the generous privileges of an amnesty, is called to give spirit and vigour to the vast system which controls our public finances; when a man is still crowned with the important honor of secretary of state, whom premature dotage has rendered unfit for public employment, who has already advised to the payment of tribute to one foreign power, that our government may have the privilege of negociating with another; when a man of feeble and wholly inefficient talents, fills our war department; and when another of still feebler powers, presides over the destinies of our infant navy, I can conceive of no measure, however weak or violent, which the people may not with reason look for, and with propriety guard themselves against. When the affairs of this nation are conducted by such men, who is not ready to exclaim, "that we are governed by a set of drivellers, whose folly takes away all dignity from distress, and makes even calamity ridiculous?"

Junius very justly remarks, that "the ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people." To the political scenes of this country, in which our great interests are involved, I wish now to direct your attention. Infinite consequences beat in every pulse, and our condition is more than alarming, when all the civilized world treat us with insult and contempt. Bonaparte has felt the pulse of our nation, he knows the warmth and tenseness of our blood, and the exact altitude of our spirit. He has seen the *cowardice* and *hypocricy* of a president; the *weakness* and *distraction* of a ministry; and is justified in treating us with contempt. He saw that your nerveless rulers preferred to impoverish the treasury, and to purchase disgraceful peace, at the expense of five millions of dollars more than the whole annual revenue of the country, rather than meet in arms, a few miserable Spaniards, and honorably heal the wounds of a violated treaty.

We are told by a great and enlightened statesman, that, "to a people who have once been proud and great, a change in the national spirit is the most terrible of all revolutions." It is the great prognostic of political dissolution, from which all nations have dated the commencement of their decline. Upon the first intimation of a want of energy in the Roman senate, and of spirit in the Roman legions, the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Heruli, commenced the march of their armies towards the borders of Italy. Their vast hordes darkened all Europe, and hung like a furious tempest on the northern frontier of the empire. Luxury had rendered Rome effeminate; the javelin lay useless on the field, and the sword was rusting in its scabbard. She was soon compelled to effect by tribute, that which she had formerly accomplished by her arms. The nerves and sinews of the Roman world, soon became too feeble to perform their functions even by the aid of tribute; so that with ease, a few well directed attacks shook the empire in pieces. Perhaps nothing has contributed more to scatter clouds and darkness over the political prospect of our country, than the loss of national honour, and the consequent dejection of national spirit. They have cast a pale and sickly complexion over all our proceedings. When we consider the character which it has acquired for us abroad, and the feeble tone which it has given to the

spirit of the people at home, are we not justifiable in saying, that the purchase of Louisiana is the most disastrous measure of our government? The magnificent pomp with which it was imposed upon the public, gave it a temporary eclat, but its folly and grossness soon sunk it into total insignificance. It was at first received by the loud acclamations of a vast populace; like a comet of the first magnitude, it blazed across our political sky, and passed off almost in the same instant that it appeared, and left it darker than it found it. This purchase, my countrymen, has bartered away your independence of character; and fifteen millions of dollars is the smallest item of the amount which you pay for its loss. Your actual gain is nothing, or it is any thing, just as Bonaparte pleases; as his policy may direct, you will have given to you a world without limits, or a strip of land not large enough to afford a forest for a savage to sport in. It embodies within it a thousand woes, which you have yet to feel, and a thousand bloody conflicts, which still lie in embryo. It is a grave which has swallowed up and buried from the world, "that which makes you poor indeed," and from whose infectious bosom has already risen contagion, pestilence, and war.

Much of the temper and spirit of our administration had been discovered, when Bonaparte issued his order, interdicting our rich and flourishing commerce with the island of St. Domingo. The order was received by the councils of the nation with apparent applause; it certainly was obeyed with promptness, and was hardly suffered to be made the subject of discussion. By this ignominious transaction, we necessarily extend the advantages of our neutrality to one belligerent, while we withhold them from another; so that in the same breath we violated the law of nations, and sold ourselves as slaves. These anomalous proceedings on the part of a people claiming to be free and independent, lead Bonaparte to suspect the extent of our servility, and to calculate on its continuance. His wishes have been realized in a second demand of tribute on our government, which has been paid, not with less willingness than the first, though with less appearance of decency and honour.

Notwithstanding all these proceedings are full before our eyes; notwithstanding we prefer the wretched tranquillity of slavish submission, to the honourable expenditures and preparations for war; notwithstanding we permit even miserable Spain to treat us with contempt, and Great-Britain with impunity to hew down and dissipate our commerce, and to shed the blood of our citizens within the actual limits of our possessions; and notwithstanding we seem to emulate the petty principalities of Europe, in fawning and cringing like spaniels round the throne of Bonaparte, still you are told that you are a great, dignified, and flourishing people.

In times of eminent national danger, the bounds of ordinary precaution must be surpassed, and more than ordinary expenses resorted to; still our preparations for defence are such as would disgrace a people, whose neighbours were Lilliputians. When the anxious portion of the community ask of our government the means of safety and protection, they are told that expenses of such a nature, make no part of Mr. Jefferson's system of economy. I ask of you, my countrymen, when war is already commenced on our western frontiers, when we have not more than six or seven ships of war

of every description in commission, when our harbours are without defence, and our commerce without protection, when we can barely skulk in safety from New-York to Charleston, and when the flames of war are bursting forth from every portion of Europe, in all the violence of a conflagration which menaces both the eastern and the western world with destruction—is this a time to prate about a *popularity saving* economy? An economy which has clothed this empire in rags, and which prompted our government to maintain with the pirates of Tripoli, a four years doubtful and expensive conflict, which by efficient means might have been brought to a close during the first ten days of its commencement, and which eventuated in an ignominious purchase of peace, and the violation of public faith.

These are considerations which demand your attention, and involve the paramount interests of the nation. I entreat that I may not expostulate in vain; the period is fast approaching when contrition will avail you nothing; when amid tumult and confusion you will wake as from a dream, and find yourselves mingled among the gloomy ruins of a distracted empire, where you will see nothing glitter but the chains you wear.

DECIUS.

For the Weekly Inspector.

The Rhapsody of J-hnny R-nd-lph, &c.

BY

Christopher Caustick, L. L. D. &c. &c. &c.

(Continued from page 113.)

FROM Spain we turn, and take a glance
At some late management in France.
Behind the feeble coward Don,
By Bonapart' is goaded on,
Like Captain Hannibal's horn'd cattle,
To front our Mightiness in battle*.

* *See Plutarch's Life of Fabius Maximus.*

Now Bony swears he will maintain
That we have no demand on Spain,
For ravages, (a pretty story!)
Committed in her territory;
For that he paid it, every mill,
Included in another bill*;
And knowing well, where reason fails,
The longest bayonet prevails,
His *ratio ultima* prepares,
At once to settle our affairs.
'Twas thus a certain Gaul, we're told,
Set out to humbug folks of old;
For having got, by blood and thunder,
The conquer'd Romans fairly under,
While they were weighing out their tribute,
By way of ransom from the gibbet,
The Gallic thief the scale inclin'd,
By all the old iron he could find;
Horse-shoes and hob-nails, history states,
He added to the *legal* weights,
His old tobacco box, and all;
O what a *Cheetham* of a Gaul!—
To cap the pile, then, what did he do;
Threw in his rusty old toledo;
A trick that would disgrace a scullion,
And made them *balance all* with bullion!†
Thus Bonapart will freely trust his
Long sword against the claims of Justice.
He swore 'twas true, say what we will,
Our limit was the Ibberville;
And as to boundaries to the west,
His Machiavel thought it best
For France to let the subject rest:
A fine pretence, beyond a doubt,
Some future time for falling out,
That our friend Tall'rand may, once more,
Our pockets pick, as heretofore!
But France, it seems, declin'd a rupture,
That is to say, if we'd give up t' her,
For free enjoyment, unmolested,
Just simply *all that was contested;*
Concluding from our conduct past,
That we would yield to that at last,
And satisfied with *such* civility,
She show'd no symptoms of hostility.

* "*She (France) was prompt and decided in her declarations, that our demands on Spain for French spoliations carried into Spanish ports, were included in the settlement between the United States and France.*"

President's Private Message.

† *Plutarch's Life of Camillus.*

Nor was it then in Paris known,
The Spaniards had the gauntlet thrown;
No—far from that, we understand,
The open-hearted Talleyrand,
Our loving friend at any rate meant
To make an "essay tow'rds a statement,"
On terms analogous, say I,
(Although quoth Decius that's a lie *),
To those our ministers propos'd,
By which all difference might be clos'd,
Which, after all these freaks and crosses,
Might compensate for all the losses
We now are forc'd to labour under,
From lawless French and Spanish plunder;
And all hereafter be agreed in,
The limits of the *modern* EDEN.

In Europe this eventful crisis,
In my opinion, very nice is,
Precisely to a tittle suits
For compromising our disputes;
Since Bonaparte is in a hobble,
We'll take advantage of the squabble;
Not that I mean to say I'm for
The rushing rashly into war,
But think it wise to have recourse
To what may *seem* to look like force,
T' assume the attitude of foes,
Like men of straw to frighten crows.

If you should think it would be right,
To make as if we meant to fight,
Let the loud trumpet of alarm
Swell to the tune of "*do them harm!*"
But faith I'll scamper, while I'm well,
To tenant Carter-mountain cell.

Now since 'tis known you represent
The wisdom of the continent,
And must be "*Solomons*," of course,
On you I place my last resource;
And still remain, with zeal most fervent,
The people's servants' humble servant.

(To be continued.)

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* *See Decius' note on the President's "confidential Message," W. I. No. 1, p. 5.*

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas information has been received, that sundry persons, citizens of the United States, or residents within the same, are conspiring and confederating together to begin and set on foot, provide and prepare the means for a military expedition or enterprize against the dominions of Spain; that for this purpose, they are fitting out and arming vessels in the western waters of the United States, collecting provisions, arms, military stores, and other means, are deceiving and seducing honest and well meaning citizens, under various pretences, to engage in their criminal enterprizes, are organizing, officering, and arming themselves for the same, contrary to the laws in such cases made and provided: I have therefore thought fit to issue this my proclamation, warning and enjoining all faithful citizens who have been led without due knowledge or consideration to participate in the said unlawful enterprize, to withdraw from the same without delay; and commanding all persons whatsoever, engaged or concerned in the same, to cease all further proceedings therein, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; and incur prosecution with all the rigours of the law. And I hereby enjoin and require all officers, civil and military, of the United States, or of any of the states or territories, and especially all governors, and other executive authorities, all judges, justices, and other officers of the peace, all military officers of the army or navy of the United States, and officers of the militia, to be vigilant each within his respective department, and according to his functions, in searching out and bringing to condign punishment, all persons engaged or concerned in such enterprize, in seizing and detaining, subject to the disposition of the law, all vessels, arms, military stores, or other means provided or providing for the same, and in general in preventing the carrying on such expedition or enterprize, by all the lawful means within their power: And I require all good and faithful citizens, and others within the United States, to be aiding and assisting herein, and especially in the discovery, apprehension, and bringing to justice of all such offenders, in preventing the execution of their unlawful designs, and in giving information against them to the proper authorities.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and have (L. s.) signed the same with my hand. Given at the City of Washington, on the twenty-seventh day of November, one thousand eight hundred and six, and in the year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States, the thirty-first.

(Signed) TH: JEFFERSON.
By the President,
(Signed) JAMES MADISON,
Secretary of State.

Among the most alarming of those symptoms which threaten the American Republic with a premature decay, may be reckoned, the want of *political integrity*; and what renders this destitution extremely ominous, is its being winked at and even justified by those men, who in some measure give a tone to the politics of the union. We every day hear persons, whose private characters and standing in society would lead us to expect from them purer sentiments, assert, that nothing like *honesty in politics* will be found, or ought to be anticipated from *any party*. That a great deal of political juggling *must* exist on all sides;—that such is *human nature*, and federalists, quids, and democrats, are much alike in that respect: that, what a moralist would call *fraud, lying*, and *chicanery* in *private life*, is *venial*, and may be forgiven in a *politician*, as a requisite part of *political management!!!*

If these sentiments are correct, we may not only at once bid adieu to our so much boasted republicanism, but it would behove every honest man to abjure civilized society; like the French revolutionists, declare war against every existing establishment, and seek with Rousseau, among savages, the ne plus ultra of human perfectibility. But these sentiments are *not* correct. On the contrary, they are dangerous, they are damnable; and those who maintain them are afflicted with a *moral leprosy*, a thousand times more destructive and contaminating, than the most contagious diseases that ever scourged mankind. Without *honesty* in *politics*, the world would be a menagerie, and human tigers its most ferocious occupants.

If we are to estimate the enormity of crimes, from their consequences in the community, the *political scoundrel* is one of the most atrocious of criminals. The editor of a newspaper, who gives circulation to falsehoods, or for party purposes, suppresses truths which ought to be known to the people, as preliminaries to the due exercise of their political right, is a very Abaddon. His infamous conduct may entail misery upon millions, which may be visited upon their posterity. A political scoundrel of this class, levies war upon the *nation*, and attacks society where it is most vulnerable. He can no more be compared with the petty villain in private life, whose sphere of iniquity is the small circle of his personal intercourse, than an Attila or a Bonaparte exterminating whole villages, to a solitary footpad, who robs an individual. It has been principally owing to lying and wrong-headed scribblers, philosophists, and jacobin editors of newspapers, that a part of Europe has been converted into an Aceldama, and another part into a den of outlaws, slaves, and tyrants.

The American people cannot be too sensible of the immense responsibility which, in this country, more than in any other, rests upon the editors of newspapers. If these polar stars become jack-o-lanthorns, their deluded followers cannot take a single step, but what tends to destruction. When they find the publishers of papers, *wilfully* guilty, of what Cheetham calls the "*arts of able editors*," that is, a nefarious attempt to deceive and mislead the public in matters embracing all that is dear to man in soicety, instead of becoming the supporters of their publications, they ought to shiver with abhorrence at the sight of such degrading libels on the American character.

These sentiments occurred from perusing an article in the Albany *Republican Crisis*, of November 25. It is called "*a true anecdote*," and will afford one among a thousand instances, which proves that we have Americans who style themselves *good republicans*, and yet do not hesitate to embrace the arch-enemy to freedom, even when the cloven foot is fairly disclosed to their senses.

COMMUNICATION

A compliment to Citizen Cheetham; or The confidence of the faction in their Captain—A true Anecdote.

A thorough-going Clintonian, lately taking up a republican paper, in which he found some pretty severe remarks on the conduct of the faction, flung it down, exclaiming with emphasis, "Falsehoods, all falsehoods; "the quid papers are filled with falsehoods,

" But I'll be d———'d if I won't have one " that will tell two lies to their one; I'll " immediately subscribe for the *Watch* " *Tower!*"

DECIUS—Concluded.

To the Editor of the Richmond Enquirer.

SIR,

ON Wednesday, the 4th of December, Mr. Nicholson moved that " so much of the message of the President of the U. States as related to the conduct of the belligerent powers towards the United States, and to the unjustifiable construction lately given by some of them to the laws of nations, as it regards the rights of neutrals, be referred to the committee of ways and means, with instruction to inquire in what respect, and to what extent, our neutral rights had been violated, and what legislative measures the true interest of the U. States required to counteract such violations." This reference was made not without pertinacious opposition on the part of Mr. Bidwell, who moved to refer the subject to a select committee, of which, consequently, he would have been the Chairman. On the ensuing Saturday, the committee of Ways and Means took the matter into consideration, and instructed their Chairman to address the following letter to the Secretary of State.

" *Committee Room, December 11th*, 1806.

" Sir,

" The Committee of Ways and Means have instructed me to request that you will cause to be laid before them such information on the subject of the enclosed resolution, as the Department of state can furnish:

" The peculiar objects of our research are —1. What new principles, or constructions of the Law of Nations have been adopted by the belligerent powers of Europe, to the prejudice of Neutral Rights? 2. The governments asserting those principles or construction? 3. The extent to which the commerce of the United States has been thereby injured?

" I am with very great respect,

" Sir, Yours,

" JOHN RANDOLPH."

A considerable time having elapsed, and no answer having been received, the Chairman waited on the Secretary of state to know when the Committee might expect one. He was informed by that officer, that he had been so much occupied in preparing a laborious report upon that subject, to be laid before the President, that he had not had time to reply to the letter of the committee: and it was not until the 26th of January (more than six weeks subsequent to the requisition of the Committee) that the Secretary's communication was made to them. It consisted of a copy of his report to the President, on the new and injurious principles interpolated into the laws of Nations by foreign powers, and contained no answer whatsoever to some of the most important points, to which the committee had directed their attention, and on which they had requested the opinion of the Secretary of State. This communication was scarcely received, when (on the 29th of January) the committee were discharged from all further consideration of the subject, which, with Mr. Gregg's resolution, brought forward on that day, was referred to a committee of the whole house on the state of the union. On this occasion, insinuations of tardiness and neglect of duty on the part of the Committee of Ways and Means were thrown out by some members. The Chairman was then absent from indisposition. On the next day, however, he laid on the table his letter to the Secretary of state, with the answer, the dates of which clearly exculpated the committee from every imputation of remissness; rendering it self-evident that they could not possibly have reported previous to the time of their discharge.

The resolution of Mr. Gregg begot a brood of others, of which it is not my purpose to notice any but the motion of Mr. Nicholson, which was introduced, not so much from a conviction on the mind of its author, that the step was in itself adviseable, as from a belief that it might prove the means of preventing the house from precipitating itself into more ruinous measures. Accordingly we find that Mr. Nicholson himself, voted to postpone its consideration, and that he declined being a member of the committee which brought in the bill in pursuance of it, to which he eventually gave a feeble and reluctant assent. And yet this bill has been called throughout the continent. " Mr. Nicholson's bill." It is equally notorious, that, in regard to the course to be pursued towards Great-Britain, no opinion was expressed by the members of the cabinet, in their collective or individual capacities. On the contrary, the President frequently declared, without reserve, that he had no opinion on the subject. Similar declarations were made by other influential and leading person presiding over the different executive department; and it is a fact, that no consultation was held between them from the meeting of congress until some time in March. This want of concert and decision in the administration might easily have been inferred (even if there were no other proof of it) from the various discordant, and undigested projects, which were brought forward in the legislature; and to this want of system must be referred much of the mischief which then resulted from this subject, as well as the embarrassments which have since ensued, and are yet likely to grow out of it.

The aggressions of Great-Britain naturally divided themselves into two classes:—Impressment of our seaman, and depredations upon our commerce. To the first we have been subjected under three successive ad-

ministrations, from the year 1793 to the present time. But this grievance, to which the United States had so long submitted, and to which congress had heretofore been content to apply palliatives, was now enlarged and dwelt upon by certain persons, because they saw in it a theme which would touch most sensibly the American feelings. Mr. Nicholson did not scruple to reproach them with a feigned zeal, and to charge them with having opposed at a former session, a bill which he had introduced for remedying the evil. Mr. John Randolph was of opinion that the impressment of of our seaman furnished just cause of indignant resentment on our part: but he saw no reason for pushing that matter to extremity at this time, which had not existed in as full force, for the last five, or even twelve years: our government, in consideration of the great number of British Seamen in our employment, and of the identity of language and manners between that class of their subjects, and the same description of our citizens, but above all, from motives of sound policy (too obvious to need recapitulation,) had hitherto deemed it expedient to temporize on this interesting and delicate topic: he could see no just ground at present, for departing from this system—more especially pending an actual negociation between the two governments, on the point in dispute: he was of opinion that nothing should be left undone to accommodate our differences amicably, and that no step should be taken which might interrupt or defeat such a settlement: that even if we should resort to war, it must eventuate in a treaty of peace, by which the points of controversy would be adjusted, or left *in statu quo ante Bellum:* and that after incurring the incalculable mischiefs of war—the derangement of our finances and the augmentation of the public debt, to an extent which could not now be foreseen; to say nothing of its baneful effects upon our political institutions, and the danger which must accrue from throwing our weight at this juncture, into the preponderating scale of Europe; there was no prospect that we should obtain better terms at any future pacification, than were attainable at present; at any rate he was disposed to give fair play to the fair experiment of negociation. But if any active measures were to be taken against Great-Britan, they should be of the most efficient and decisive nature. He deprecated half measures as the most injurious to ourselves, which could be adopted.

Whilst the bill was yet under discussion, the news of the death of Mr. Pitt, and the consequent change of Ministry, reached the United States. No circumstance could have afforded a fairer or more honourable pretext, or a more powerful motive for suspending our measures against Great-Britain, than this. The late Premier was known to be decidedly hostile to the institutions, the interests, and the very people, of America. No administration, not even that of Lord North himself, had been, or could be, more inimical to the United States, than that of Mr. Pitt. His power was moreover connected with, and depended upon, the continuation and duration of the war. He was succeeded by Mr. Fox, unquestionably the most liberal and enlightened statesman of Europe; the man, above all others, beyond the Atlantic, the best affected towards the principles of our government, and the illustrious character by whom it was administered. Never did a fairer occasion present itself to any nation, for changing, without the imputation of versatility, or any loss of honour, the course which they had chosen to prescribe to themselves. The excitement of public sentiment, and the measures consequent upon that excitement, might fairly and honourably have been referred to the known character of the late Premier, the pupil of Dundas, and the disciple of Charles Jenkinson; and the United States might have awaited, in a dignified and imposing inactivity, the manifestation of a different sentiment by the new ministry. But the new leaders of the House of Representatives were men who soared above, or skimmed below all considerations of time, place, and circumstance: they gloried in their ignorance of men and things in Europe, and boasted that their policy should not be modified by any change in the aspect of affairs, at home or abroad: and in the pursuit of an abstract metaphysical *ignis fatuus*, they did not hesitate to embark the best interests of the union.

Against these measures Mr. John Randolph further objected, that during the "*five months which our ministers had spent in fruitless discussion at Madrid*," it had entered into the head of nobody to suggest any proposition of a coercive nature in relation to Spain, and that, even after the total failure of that negociation, no such measure had been proposed: that Great-Britain had indeed impressed our seamen, and advanced certain injurious principles of national law, which, if carried into their full extent, would materially affect our commerce, but that Spain, after having refused to make good her solemn stipulations to compensate us for former spoliations committed on our commerce, had "*renewed the same practices during the present war.*" She had not, it was true, impressed our seamen, but her cruizers had "*plundered and sunk our vessels, and maltreated and abandoned their crews, in open boats, or on desert shores, without food or covering.*" her courts of admiralty had indeed advanced no "*new principles of the Law of Nations,*" but they had confiscated our ships and cargoes, without the pretext of principles of any sort, new or old. She has moreover insulted our territory, *violated the property and persons of our citizens within our acknowledged limits*, and insolently rejected every overture to accommodation. —With Spain all our attempts to negociate had failed: with Great-Britain we had a ne-

gociation actually pending, and which the dispatches of our minister at the court of London gave us every reason to suppose would have a prosperous issue; and even admitting, for the sake of argument, that our vote of money to purchase Florida, was, in itself, no derogation from the national honour; inasmuch as we proposed to receive a fair equivalent for it, yet, having refused to take any coercive measures for the unparalleled indignities of Spain, who had peremptorily rejected all our propositions for pacific accommodation, how could we with any face of impartiality towards the belligerent powers, assume this elevated tone towards Great-Britain? Mr. Randolph further declared, that the proposed measure was in itself insufficient to every valuable purpose; that its sole operation would be to pique the pride, and rouse the resentment of our adversary; and whilst it indicated a strong spirit of hostility on our part, would afford her a fair opening to strike the first effectual blow: that it was indeed to show our teeth without daring at the same time to bite: that Great-Britain would have, until the next session of Congress, ample time to advise means for annoying us in the most effective manner; and that meanwhile she might withdraw her property from our grasp, and guard every vulnerable point from our attack. He conjured the house not to suffer themselves, from the honest prejudices of the revolution, from their ancient partiality to France, and their well-grounded antipathy to England, to be legislated into a war, which would involve the best interests of their country. Above all, he trusted that their measures would in no wise be influenced by any wish to avenge on Great-Britain the wrongs and injuries of Ireland: he declared that his sympathy with that insulted and oppressed people was too strong not to lead him to fear, that the same sentiment might operate on other members, in this case, whilst they themselves were unconscious of it: that whilst he deplored the subjugation of that gallant and generous nation, it was his duty to remember that he was legislating for the U. States, and bound to consult their interests alone. On this occasion Mr. Smilie, who, since the incapacity of Mr. Bidwell had become manifest, was considered as the efficient leader of the majority, avowed, that, although an Irishman by birth, he felt no greater predilection for that country than for any other in Europe, or in the world. This declaration was conceived by many to confer much honour upon that gentleman, whether true or false.

Another strong objection to the non-importation bill arose from its bearing the aspect (especially when taken in conjunction with our recent conduct towards France and Spain) of a disposition on our part to aid the views of the French government in cramping the nation, and destroying the manufactures of G. Britain. This constituted our principal source of animosity between these rival nations, and the American government could perhaps take no step which would so strongly excite the resentment of the English ministry. The prompt and decisive conduct of that government to Prussia, so soon as she manifested a disposition to come into the views of France on this subject, forms the best commentary upon this opinion, and the sudden change in the tone of Mr. Fox towards the United States, is no bad criterion of its truth.

When Mr. J. Randolph declared, that if any coercive measures were to be pursued against G. Britain, they should be of the most energetic stamp, and mentioned an embargo as that which he deemed the most efficient at the outset, he was asked by some "why he did not move such a proposition," and they declared, at the same time, that, if he would bring forward the measure, they would support it. To this the answer was obvious:—That he wished to try the fair experiment of negociation, in the first instance: that he deemed it impolitic, pending that negociation, to take any step which might defeat it: and that it was astonishing to him, that gentlemen who had remained entirely passive under the aggressions of Spain, who had refused to concur even in measures of self-defence against her invasion—made, too, after a peremptory rejection of every overture to accommodation, should advocate an opposite course towards another power, with whom we were at that moment actually treating. The bill, nevertheless, passed by a large majority. The wisdom of the measure is yet to be tested by its effects.

DECIUS.

FROM THE CHARLESTON COURIER.

To the Washington Republicans of South-Carolina.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

PERSUADED as you all are of the goodness of your cause, and the badness of that of your opponents, you often ask with amazement, how it is possible, that in this enlightened age, with all the experience we possess, the latter should invariably triumph in every contest?

To those men of discernment, men well acquainted with human nature, and who have steadily observed the progress of democracy, and the arts of intriguing demagogues, there is nothing at all wonderful in the business—it is the natural course of things—it always has been so, and always will be so, as long as you pursue the feeble, timid, wavering, inconsistent, and indolent policy, which characterizes all your measures.

Let us only contrast the decided and invariable system of the Democrats with the

want of system of the Washingtons, and we shall at once find a clue to the constant success of the one party, and the constant defeat of the other.

1st. then—The Democrats having once formed their plan, steadily adhere to it—without regard to minor considerations or partial views, they always look forward to the main object of their party, and to that they boldly sacrifice every thing which may divert them from it, or lessen the chance of obtaining it

The Washingtons, on the contrary, form no plan—or if they concur in something like one, they soon abandon it, warped by every daily occurrence which may threaten to shake it, shifting their ground on every trifling occasion, and sacrificing the great object of political salvation to personal, partial, and minor considerations.

2d. The Demos select from among themselves a few intrepid, intriguing, and persevering characters, to whom they delegate full powers, in whom they repose plenary and implicit confidence, and whose recommendations carry the force of law—thus their measures are prompt and efficacious, ensuring all that success which invariably results from a concentration of opinion, an unity of executive, well-disciplined forces, and a consolidation of strength.

Quite the reverse, the Washingtons repose implicit confidence in none—every individual is an independent chief, jealous of any superior influence which another may have derived from talents, experience, or personal address and activity, and envious of any temporary superiority such a person may have acquired—every man conceives himself as well qualified to judge on political matters as another, and so far from implicitly pursuing the recommendations of those who have combined together for the public good, the very idea of such an assumption of power is enough to excite a spirit of hostile opposition—thus the measures of the Washingtons are no less feeble than tardy—adopted always at the last hour, and then without any union of sentiment, any harmony of co-operation; of course they meet the disastrous fate which always attends undisciplined militia, commanded by numerous chiefs, acting without concert, or the ill-digested and chaotic measures of a multitudinous executive.

3d. The Demos, conscious of the badness of their cause, knowing that if the people were left to themselves, their system would be completely overthrown, having, in due season, arranged their plan, proceed with activity, spirit, and perseverance, to carry it into effect:—they accordingly organize committees, and sub-committees, prepare by well-timed publications the public mind to receive their impressions, circulate and propagate their doctrines throughout the country, and seize on every topic, every occurrence, every prejudice, every weakness, and every folly, to convert them into means of ensuring their triumph.

The good honest Washingtons, conscious of the rectitude of their cause, for months after all the democratic operations have been in full activity, finally allow themselves to be roused up to the adoption of their plan—but exhausted by so wonderful an effort, they trust to Providence for all the rest—no committees or sub-committees—no suitable and timely publications—no communication with their country friends—no dissemination of their views—the good cause is left to work out its own salvation, and, as was to be expected, discomfiture follows as a matter of course.

4thly. The Demos, aware of the importance of exhibiting to the public their leaders as men of wisdom, virtue, and talents, never suffer them to be attacked with impunity. To cast an aspersion on one of these immaculates, is to raise a hornet's nest about your ears—their persons are sacred; "*they can do no wrong.*" If an insinuation escapes against their private or public morals, the whole tribe is up in arms; the presses groan under the load of vindications, apologies, and recriminations; they make a common cause of it; every one feels himself a party; it is like an electric stroke, which shakes the remotest man in the link; it is immaterial whether their Chief merited or not the attack; however blackened he may be by guilt, it is their interest to white-wash him, and in spite of evidence, in the teeth of facts, they will boldly persevere in patching a cracked, and varnishing over a spotted reputation, till they have persuaded a too credulous and uninvestigating public that it has always been without a flaw or a stain.

The Washingtons, on their part, pursue a system diametrically opposed to this; for should any, not of their leaders, (for they are to proud to have any!) but any distinguished member of their sect commit any slight indiscretion, or any trifling faux-pas, they give him up at once; instead of running to his aid, helping him out of his difficulties, glossing over his faults, putting a plausible construction on his conduct, palliating his errors, and carrying him through with eclat, they actually out-run the zeal of the opposite party, and with an affectation of candour, for which they get no credit, and by which they are sure to lose ground, they are among the first to denounce the unfortunate offender; they shrug up their shoulders, and utter such like lamentable saws; "very true—we are as ready to condemn him as you—he does not speak our sentiments—he has mistaken the true interests of his country; we thought better of his judgment and patriotism—we don't defend him"—Nay, even when the conduct of the denounced has been not only perfectly correct, but wise and patriotic. There are too many of them more

prompt to join in the denunciation, than disposed to take the trouble of inquiring into the injustice of, and repelling the unfounded charge. HAMILTON.

President's Message,

Delivered on Tuesday, the 2d inst.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

It would have given me, fellow-citizens, great satisfaction to announce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of your last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions as in the event of failure, could leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance. The delays which have since taken place in our negociations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled to lay before you their final issue. What will be that of the negociations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which had taken place at the date of the last dispatches, enables us to pronounce. On the western side of the Missisippi she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayou Pierre, on the Red river. This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana. Being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed at the moment of re-delivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men, which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, having been lately made by our commander in chief, to assume the Sabine river as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negociations shall be known; this has been referred by the Spanish commandant to his superior, and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the western side of the Sabine river. The correspondence on this subject, now communicated, will exhibit more particularly the present state of things in that quarter.

The nature of that country requires indispensably, that an unusual proportion of the force employed there should be cavalry, or mounted infantry. In order, therefore, that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had authorized him to call on the governors of Orleans and Missisippi, for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangement he has proposed may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you with great pleasure, of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens in every part of the union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously under all circumstances which may occur.

Having received information that in another part of the United States a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organizing themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprize, for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it, and for arresting and bringing to justice its authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to be the rule of action in public, as well as in private transactions; it was due to good order, and regular government, that, while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals to decide for their country the question of peace or war, by commencing active and unauthorized hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed.

Whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force, will depend on the result of our negociations with Spain. But as it is uncertain when that result will be known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening in that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration.

The possession of both banks of the Missisippi reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide, for that point, a more adequate security. Some position above its mouth, commanding the passage of the river, should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence; and in conjunction with them to present an insuperable obstacle to any force, attempting to pass. The approaches to the City of New-Orleans, from the eastern quarter also, will require to be examined, and more effectually guarded. For the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the Missisippi, within reach of New-Orleans, will be worthy the consideration of the Legislature.

The gun boats, authorized by an act of

the last session, are so advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a much larger will still be wanting to place our sea-port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation for a further provision of them is recommended for the ensuing year.

A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our sea-port towns, or their remaining before them.

In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people, directly expressed by their free suffrages, where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislature are renewed by them at short periods, where, under the character of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest portion of the judiciary powers, where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not be supposed that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection, or enterprise, on the public peace or authority. The laws, however, aware that these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have wisely provided punishment for these crimes when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprise is meditated by private individuals, against a foreign nation, in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws. Would they not be as reasonable, and useful, where the enterprise preparing is against the United States?—While adverting to this branch of law, it is proper to observe, that in enterprises meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the jurisdiction of the U. States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight, every indication of his purpose which could draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.

The states on the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed at present to respect our peace and friendship. With Tunis alone, some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement into the Mediterranean; unless previous information shall show it to be unnecessary.

We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere concern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge these high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward in their peace and friendship.

The expedition of Mess'rs Lewis and Clarke, for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, ascertained with accuracy the geography of that interesting communication across our continent, learnt the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants; and it is but justice to say that Mess'rs Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have, by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.

The attempt to explore the Red River, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful. After proceeding up it about six hundred miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended, while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to retura without completing their work.

Very useful additions have also been made to our knowledge of the Missisippi, by Lieutenant Pike, who has ascended it to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both Houses of Congress. Those of Mess'rs Lewis, Clarke, and Freeman, will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important surveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Missisippi and its western waters. Some principal rivers, however, remain still to be explored, towards which the authorization of Congress, by moderate appropriations, will be requisite.

I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights, which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expedi-

☞ *See last page,* (136).

In our last, we gave the motion made in the Federal Court for Kentucky district, for the apprehension of Colonel Burr. The following are the remarks with which the Attorney, Mr. Daviess, supported his motion, and the determination and further proceedings of the Court.

"The present subject has much engaged my mind. The case made out is only as to the expedition against Mexico; but I have information on which I can rely, that all the western territores are the next object of the scheme—and finally, all the region of the Ohio is calculated as falling into the vortex of the new proposed revolution. What the practicability of this scheme is, I will not say; but certainly any progress in it, might cost our country much blood and treasure to undo; and, at the least, great public agitation must be expected.

I am determined to use every effort in my power, as an officer and as a man, to prevent and defeat it.

Having made the affidavit myself, I shall make no comments on its sufficiency.

In cases of felony the affidavit must be positive, as to a felony actually committed; but in a misdemeanour of this nature, where the sole object of the law is prevention, such an oath cannot be required; the thing must rest on belief as to the main point of guilt.

I could easily prove positively the purchase of supplies of various kinds; but this is no offence. Mr. Burr may purchase supplies—he may import a ms—he may engage men, which I am told is actually begun—yet all these things being proved make no offence, neither can proof of the declarations of his known confidants, of which abundance might be had, attach guilt to him—it is the *design*, the *intent* with which he makes these preparations, that constitute his misdemeanour.

There must be a great exertion of supposition to imagine a case in which positive proof of the illegal *designs* can be had—it must rest in information and belief.

The court ought therefore to issue a warrant or capias for the accused, and examine witnesses; when the court will be able to decide whether Mr. Burr should be bound to good behaviour on the premises, or recognized to appear here and answer an indictment.

His honour Judge Innes declined, on account of the importance of the question, to give an opinion, without taking time for consideration. This opinion he did not deliver, until this morning about eleven, which opinion went to overrule the motion of the attorney for the United States, on the grounds,

1st. That the court was not invested with the power.

2d. If the court were, that the evidence was not sufficient.

The attorney then moved for a warrant, to summon a grand jury, before whom he would prefer an indictment against Col. Burr. This the court immediately granted; and a warrant was given to Col. Crocket, the marshal of the district, for that purpose. The Judge ordered his opinion to be entered on the record. A copy of it therefore shall be obtained and published in an extra half sheet in the beginning of the week, with the further proceedings of the court on this important question.

"1 o'clock. After the names of the grand jury were called, Col. Burr entered, attended by H. Clay, Esq. as his counsel, and after having seated himself a few minutes, rose and addressed the court in concise and impressive terms. He stated that he had been upon the eve of his departure from Lexington, when he was informed that his name had been mentioned with reproach in that court; that he made it his business to hasten to this place, and present himself before the court for investigation—with several other observations, which we shall publish at length in our next. At present we can only say, that the grand jury were ordered to attend on Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock."

The Aurora of the 2d inst. continues the chase, and states, among other alarming facts, that Burr contemplates,

1. The establishment of a despotic government on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.
2. That Mr. Burr was to be the despot.
3. That from among *his friends* were to be selected the materials of new nobles—no doubt conservative senates, and legions of honour!
4. That among his designs of empire, were *fundamentally* predetermined, a formidable military and naval establishment, and that it was to be reared from the materials of the United States, *combined with other foreign materials*.
5. That of course the sea-coast, on an extensive line, was to be seized and occupied.
6. That offers of honour and emolument were to be held forth to adventurers from all parts of the world.

Duane then proceeds to furnish further clues to this labyrinth of iniquity; declares that he knows to whom the project was communicated; that he would not have "hazarded a declara-

tion of this nature, without ASSURANCE DOUBLY SURE;" and that the Executive of the union is in possession of the facts.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Shelbyville, Kentucky, to his friend near Winchester, dated Oct. 22, 1806.

"Our state has been in considerable agitation for some time past, owing to the arrival of Col. Burr. He has been for some time travelling secretly through the state, and appears as if he was constantly on express.—There are also a number of his friends from New-York, and different parts of the United States travelling about in the same manner. There are many conjectures as to their intentions and business; some say that a division of the Union (the Allegany mountain to be the line) is their object; others say, that they intend an expedition against the Spaniards in Louisiana; but the more general, and I believe, the most correct opinion is, that they are planning an expedition against the Spanish mines, and province of Santa Fé and Mexico. This much is certain, that Col. Burr and his friends, as also many of our most influential characters here, are for whole days together shut up in close rooms, and no persons but those of their own party can tell what their conferences are about; that provisions of every description are purchasing in every part of the state, sufficient for an army of 20,000 men. On the Ohio and Kentucky rivers a number of vessels of various descriptions are building in great haste; two Brigs and several Barges will be completed in a very short time.

"Burr has with him some of the most wealthy men in the United States; their drafts are principally on New-York; they have received very considerable sums in this state on their drafts; some of them are on Ogden and Smith, who made so much ado about Miranda: some think the expeditions are connected, as the same characters are mentioned in both; it is said they have drawn to the amount of from 1 to 200,000 dollars.

"I have myself undertaken to purchase for the company, pork, beef and flour, to any amount that can be procured, and the money paid in advance; if I could get ten thousand dollars worth, so much the better they would like it. Since Burr's appearance in the western country, several publications have appeared in our papers, that tend to corroborate the above opinion.

"There is also considerable talk of a war with Spain; we had the news a few days ago, that a battle had actually been fought between the Spanish troops and the American army at or near Natchitoches—how true this is I cannot say."

FOREIGN.

The tempest of war lours heavily on the continent of Europe. The preparations of the belligerent powers are beyond example, even in the annals of this iron age. From the last advices, however, we do not learn that any blow has yet been struck.

The Prussian and the Russian armies are approaching each other, and the most menacing appearances seem to announce immediate hostilities.

The King of Holland has taken the field with a large army.

The Emperor Napoleon has addressed a letter to the King of Bavaria, calling on him for his contingent of troops, as a member of the confederation of the Rhine, and declaring that the French contingent would be increased from 2 to 300,000 men.

Two Russian armies of 50,000 men each, are rapidly advancing towards the Prussian armies, and a third Russian army is expected.

From what we learn relative to the breaking off of the negociation between France and England, it should seem that the war is popular in that country, and we have reasons to believe that the nations of Europe are thoroughly roused from their apathy, and prepared to make such exertions as the eventful crisis so imperiously demands.

BRITISH SUCCESS IN ITALY.

It was reported in London, that the British had gained another victory in the Neapolitan territories, and that Gæta had been retaken by Sir John Stuart: it is said when he re-embarked his troops, he entertained no idea of relinquishing the contest. By landing on the other side of the peninsula, he compelled Gen. Regnier to retrace his steps, and again to meet the English in arms. Here the British bayonet was found to be as potent as on the plains of Maida. He was defeated with great loss, and was himself wounded; but whether mortally or not, accounts from Malta do not say. At the same time, the British squadrons have not been idle. They have re-taken Gæta, and we believe Sicilly. These suc-

cesses have so inspired the Callabrians, that the French are obliged to entrench themselves.

PRESIDENT's MESSAGE—continued from page 133.

tions which cannot be completed before that day.

The receipts at the Treasury, during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have amounted to near fifteen millions of dollars; which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana; to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest, and, in addition, to reimburse, in the course of the present month, near two millions of five and an half per cent. stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded debt, with those which have been made in the four years and an half preceding, will, at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of twenty-three millions of principal.

The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering, however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time, after which that also will become unnecessary for any purpose now within contemplation.

When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, ere long, be an accumulation of monies in the treasury beyond the instalments of public debt, which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot then, without a modification, assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt and the complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects. Nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other objects shall these other surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them?—Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of a more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects, of public improvement, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations, new channels of communication will be opened between the states; the lines of separation will disappear; their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties. Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal: but a public institution can alone supply those sciences, which, though rarly called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation. The subject is now proposed for the consideration of Congress, because, if approved, by the time the state legislatures shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall be passed, and other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, and without employment. I suppose an amendment of the constitution, by consent of the states, necessary; because the objects now recommended, are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public monies to be applied.

The present consideration of a national establishment for education particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also; that, if Congress approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements, by requiring for its own purposes the resources destined for them.

This, fellow-citizens, is the state of the public interests at the present moment, and according to the information now possessed. But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such too the predicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely with certainty on the present aspect of our affairs, that may change from moment to moment, during the course of your session, or after you shall have separated. Our duty is, therefore, to act upon the things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever they may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace, in preparations for the defence of our sea-

☞ *For remainder*, see 1st page.